

# STALINISM BETRAYED THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

## BEHIND THE MURDER OF ZINOVIEV, KAMENIEV, SMIRNOV and the FRAME-UP of **TROTSKY**



"The victory of the Spanish workers can only mean the establishment of a Soviet Spain. This will alter the whole international situation, turning the tide against fascism throughout the world. This victory will be extended to other countries. It will give the workers of France the needed impulse to smash the People's Front straight-jacket, defeat reaction and overthrow capitalism. It will accelerate the developments in the North American labor movement into left channels and enable the Marxists to gain points of advantage against the reformist socialists and their Trotskyite fringe, the Stalinists and their Livestonite camp-followers and the reformist labor and farmer-labor fakers. It will give renewed energies to the proletarian forces in the Soviet Union against Stalinism and its degeneration in the direction of capitalism. It will lay the material foundations for the establishment of the Communist Fourth International."

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For two weeks in August the eyes of the world shifted from Spain as sixteen prisoners faced a Russian Military Tribunal and then, less than forty-eight hours later, met death at the hands of a firing squad. The prominence of some of the defendants; the crime with which they were charged; the fact that Leon Trotsky was accused of complicity; and the manner in which the trial was conducted and the sentence executed, aroused the widest interest, not only of the revolutionary workers, but of broad layers of the working-class as a whole, and the "public" generally.

To the heart-minded, the incident served merely to confirm an opinion of long standing: either that the Russians are by nature a conspirative, blood-thirsty lot (which explains why "a revolution might take place in Russia but never in the United States"); or that the reds are a loathsome, unreliable crew who, when no priests remain to be slaughtered and no nuns remain to be violated, turn, in sheer desperation, to butchering each other.

To the uncritical reader of the "Daily Worker" and the boss press the incident served to prove a thousandth time that the Trotskyites, "vanguard of the international counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie" (see files of the DAILY WORKER) who, at the height of their power, met in a "telephone booth", and who have on occasion been "detected", "isolated", "annihilated", "buried" and "completely erased from the face of the earth", had sunk to new depths of depravity, and were now conspiring with Hitler to assassinate the leaders of the Soviet Union.

For Norman Thomas, leader of the Socialist Party, writing in the "Socialist Call", there is no question of the guilt of Kamenev and Zinoviev, though he "reserves judgment as to the complicity of Trotsky". For the Trotskyites, those tired revolutionists who have crawled into the Socialist Party, the case resolved itself into an attempt of Stalin to frame-up their "beloved leader."

#### A MONSTROUS FRAME-UP

In the face of the legitimate hostility with which the advanced workers view those whom they consider guilty of such crimes against the working class; in face of the theatricals which accompanied the "trial", in face of the "confessions" and death of the accused; after mature consideration and conscious of our responsibility before the class; we unhesitatingly denounce the whole affair as a monstrous frame-up. We have analysed the "trial", we know the accusers and the accused, the method and the motive.

When men are brought to trial, one seeks to learn something of their past, not because the past is in itself decisive, but because a man's past is a good measure of the man.

By his own testimony and from evidence supplied by others, Olberg was a paid agent of the Stalinist bureaucracy, shot with the rest to seal his mouth forever and avoid embarrassing confessions in the future. Among the sixteen were some who are found in every frame-up—shady characters, sharked up by the prosecution for its filthy purposes and then disposed of in one way or another. With such riff-raff we are not concerned.

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We are concerned with the three principals: Zinoviev, Kamenev and Smirnov--who were shot--and Trotsky. All three principals were members of the Bolshevik Party from its inception. Theirs are the records of Old Bolsheviks, not of allies of Hitler, of advocates of assassination and individual terror. These men served the revolution and the Bolshevik Party for decades in struggle, prison, exile and in the Civil War. They were the collaborators of Lenin, co-leaders with him of the proletarian dictatorship and the Communist International, and when the proletarian dictatorship degenerated under Stalin's regime, they fought for a time to restore it to Lenin's path.

They made mistakes. At times they fought Lenin and his ideas. Who did not? Lenin was often alone at first, until he convinced his collaborators and followers. Not the least of their mistakes was their capitulation to Stalin in 1928, after they had fought him with Trotsky under the banner of the old Left Opposition. Despite our sharp political differences with Zinoviev and the others, despite their desertion of the banner of the Left Opposition, we cannot be blind to the fact that their whole life argues against their advocacy of individual terror and assassination.

Specifically the defendants were charged with the organization, under the leadership of Trotsky, of secret terrorist groups, of maintaining relations with the Gestapo (Hitler's GPU), and of plotting the assassination of Stalin and other Soviet leaders. But while all this was supposed to be going on, Kamenov and Zinoviev were under lock and key as the "murderers" of Kirov. Kamenov and Zinoviev in jail are supposed to have enjoyed such freedom as to be able to organize groups, establish relations with the Gestapo and plot assassinations. To those who have read of the hunger strikes of imprisoned Bolshevik-Leninists protesting solitary confinement; to those who know of the slow torture of Tarov and Ciliglia; the charge is an obvious lie.

#### THE "CONFESIONS"

But what of the "confessions"? If the accused did not commit the crime, could not have committed the crime, why did they "confess"?

What motivated these unfortunate men to make such incredible spectacles of themselves in the courtroom; why they vied with one another in reviling themselves, in damning themselves to death we shall never learn from them. They are dead. We can only speculate.

It has been suggested that they sought to overdo their "confessions", to make them manifestly incredible in order, in this way, to tell the world they were spurious. Perhaps they sought to buy their lives. These things are guesses.

But one thing is certain. They were terrorized into "confessing". Of that there can be not the slightest doubt by anyone who has not substituted uncritical support of Stalinism for reason, not to speak of one of its finest products, Marxism. Perhaps even physical torture was used. That should surprise no one. Let us recall that the worker Hendrickson was beaten to death. Tarov and Ciliglia have established the fact that torture against worker-oppositions is widely used.

One fact which emerged from the trial itself lends credence to the idea. Smirnov tried to save something from the wreckage of his life. He denied the complicity of Trotsky. That one incident proves that the "confessions" were forced on the confessors. Smirnov's little exception gives the lie to the whole Stalinist frame-up.

indicates

One other incident that the "confessions" were spurious. One of the charges, reported by the press, claimed that an objective of the plot was the organization of a separatist movement in the Ukraine in connection with the Gestapo with the aim of uniting that territory with Germany. Nothing was said about this by the prosecution and the confessors.

Such a coincidence in things confessed and unconfessed points to only one conclusion: the "confessions" were framed by the prosecution, and forced on the confessors.

#### NO EVIDENCE AGAINST TROTSKY

The testimony against Trotsky consists solely of these "confessions". Trotsky's long record in the movement, his brilliant achievements, all preclude the possibility of his resorting to assassination as a method of political struggle. Beyond belief is the charge that he is a tool of Hitler, or conspiring with him to detach the Ukraine from the Soviet Union and attach it to Germany. There is no political logic in this charge.

Eight years ago Trotsky predicted that Stalin's line would lead the parties of the Communist International to social patriotism, to support national defense in capitalist countries. This charge has been proved to the hilt. Trotsky based himself on the political logic of Stalin's position and on experience.

opportunist

No such analysis can be made of Trotsky's line. True it is that Trotsky's political line is not today. He advances the slogan of the Fourth International and dissolves the groups of his followers into the Second International. His followers betray Marxism, make principled concessions to Stalinism and the Socialists. But Trotsky's line is not anti-working class, not pro-capitalist.

Besides there is no evidence against Trotsky. Let us examine the testimony of the stool-pigeon, Olberg.

1. "Olberg: Sedov spoke to me about my trip after Trotsky's appeal against his deprivation of USSR citizenship. In this appeal, Trotsky developed the idea of the necessity of killing Stalin. The idea was expressed in the following words: 'STALIN MUST BE REMOVED!' (DAILY WORKER, 9/11/36, our emphasis)

"Stalin must be removed" equals "Stalin must be killed". Ergo, Trotsky is a terrorist. This is the "proof". Very simple, but much too simple.

What does Trotsky mean by "Stalin must be removed"? Trotsky is referring to Lenin's advice to the Bolsheviks, dictated from his deathbed in 1924, to remove Stalin from his post of General Secretary because he was too rude and disloyal. The document has been suppos-

as although the Stalinists have admitted its existence. The text has been published many times.

There is another and more important political meaning in this phrase. The Stalinist bureaucracy is like the old man of the sea with his legs wound around the neck of the proletarian dictatorship. It is dragging the dictatorship back toward capitalism. To remove Stalin means to get rid of this bureaucracy and restore the dictatorship on the path marked out by Lenin.

There is only one way to accomplish this task: revolutionary action by the workers in the Western European countries which will encourage the Russian workers and enable them to build a new Communist Party which will replace the present policies of the bureaucracy and the bureaucracy-with a Leninist policy and leadership. Trotsky has abandoned the propaganda for a new Communist Party in the Soviet Union in the last two years but that phrase is none the less, a reference to these ideas.

All this is the very opposite of assassination as a method of political struggle.

2. "Olberg further testified that to obtain a passport he used the services of Friedman, a Berlin Trotskyite, who was at the same time an agent of the German police." (D.W. 9/11/36).

Proof? No proof. The "confession" is the proof.

3. "Vyshinsky: Was the connection between the German Trotskyite and the German police a system?

"Olberg: Yes, it was a system..

"Vyshinsky: How do you know this was maintained with Trotsky's consent?

"Olberg: One of the lines of this connection was my own. My connection was organized with Trotsky's consent.

"Vyshinsky: Your personal connection with whom?

"Olberg: With the Fascist Secret police" (D.W. 9/11/36)

The purpose of the "confession" is clear. A stool-pigeon who never saw Trotsky "proves" that a "Trotskyite" in Berlin is an agent of the Gestapo and that he, the murdered confessor, was the "connection". Now the picture is ready for framing. It is summarized by the prosecutor Vyshinsky:

4. "Hence it can be said; You, Valentin Olberg, being connected with Trotsky, through his son, Sedov, was sent to the USSR through Sedov, by the direct order of Trotsky, with the consent and as an agent of Trotsky, to prepare and carry out a terrorist act against Comrade Stalin."

"Olberg: Yes." (D.W. 9/11/36).

5. "Olberg: -I received a letter from her (Slomowitz, a Moscow Trotskyite) to the effect that 'our old friend' insisted that the work for the degree be completed by May First.

"V.: 'The work for the degree' - what was that?

"O.: That was the assassination of Stalin.

"V.: And who is the 'old friend'?

"O.: The 'old friend' is Trotsky." (D.W. 9/11/36)

The prostitute Stalinist press drew appropriate conclusions: "THE MAD DOGS MUST BE SHOT TO A MAN", shreiks PRAVDA and the DAILY WORKER ( 9/9/36). "Trotsky ought to share the dock with Zinoviev and Kamenev. Death and annihilation are too good for him." - PRAVDA, August 19, 1936.

#### A VICIOUS AMALGAM

A sober analysis of the trial will show:

1. There has been adduced no shred of evidence ( other than the utterly worthless "confessions") linking the accused with Hitler.
2. There has not been adduced one shred of evidence (with the same exception) linking Trotsky to the accused.
3. There has not been adduced one shred of evidence (with the same exception) linking Trotsky to Hitler.

If that evidence exists it can be unearthed by an investigation. The world labor movement will not trust an investigation conducted by the Stalinists. It would have to be conducted by a body drawn from the working class movement and its sympathizers in many countries. Its personnel would have to be carefully selected. No doubt, forces hostile to the Soviet Union would attempt to use it to discredit the proletarian dictatorship. That cannot be helped. The Stalinists have made it necessary to run that risk. But the utmost vigilance on the part of the Marxists would be necessary to prevent the opportunists of all shades from obscuring the truth.

If the Stalinist bureaucracy had a case, it would welcome such an international commission. When the social-Revolutionaries were charged with attempting the assassination of Lenin in 1922, the Bolsheviks did not accedo to the request of the Second International for an international jury on the ground that this impugned the institutions of the Soviet Union. But they permitted the world allies of the SR's to come to Russia, and conduct the defense. After the Bolsheviks proved their case, Trotsky led a delegation from the Russian Communist Party which requested the commutation of the death sentence. The delegation argued that the leaders of the Second International had so confused the European workers under their influence that the Soviet Union would gain prestige in their eyes if the sentence were commuted, after the charges had been proved. The sentences were commuted.

But the Stalinist bureaucracy cannot allow even an investigating commission. It replied to such a request by the leadership of the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions which, to be sure, are not among the friends of the proletarian dictatorship, that this constituted an "outrageous attempt to interfere with the orderly process of Soviet justice". Proletarian justice needs better advocates than the traitors of the Second International, and better defenders than the traitors of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

What the Stalinists did by the "confessions" of Zinoviev and Kamenev was to make an amalgam. They lumped in one pot the stool-pigeon, Olberg; the Stalinists, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smirnov, and others; and Trotsky.

This is not the first time the bureaucracy has resorted to the amalgam frame-up method. We will show that it is a necessary weapon by which it attempts to extricate itself from contradictions which arise out of its false policy. For lack of space we will discuss two.

#### THE WRANGEL OFFICER AND THE LEFT OPPOSITION

In September, 1927, at the height of the factional struggle in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the GPU announced that a former officer in Wrangel's army had been approached by a Left Opposition (Trotskyist) about a mimeograph, and by someone else about a military conspiracy against the government.

The Left Opposition immediately demanded the officer's name and information as to whether or not he had been arrested. It demanded to know what connections had been found to exist between it and the military conspiracy.

After considerable delay the GPU replied that the officer had not been arrested, that he was really a GPU agent, that no connections had been established between the Left Opposition and the conspiracy, but that this matter was still under investigation.

It was further charged that the Opposition was attempting to draw military "putchists into the internal affair of the Communist Party of the SU to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship". The huge, underground printing plant of the Opposition turned out to be the mimeograph. The "conspiracy" turned out to be -- the program of the Left Opposition. The Wrangel officer -- a GPU agent.

Why did the Stalin faction attempt to frame the Left Opposition? During the years 1924-28, the Stalin faction was pursuing a policy of encouraging the Kulak to enrich himself, of a very slow rate of industrial development. The Left Opposition demanded planned industrialization and collectivization. The Stalin faction was concentrating in Russia on the line of building "socialism in one country", and restraining the workers in Europe from revolutionary action out of fear of convulsions which would interfere with their peaceful construction in Russia. The Left Opposition demanded a policy of building up Russia on the line of completing the process of world revolution with the aid of revolutions in the dominant capitalist countries, in other words, the permanent revolution.

The policy of the Stalin faction resulted in the penetration of the Soviets and the Communist Party by kulaks and anti-working class forces which demanded action against the rising influence of the Opposition which represented the interests of the proletariat. The Stalin faction carried out the frame-up and the expulsion of the Left in the interest of the Right.

### THE KIROV ASSASSINATION

In the case of the assassination of Kirov, Niclaiev, the murderer, was alleged to be in contact with an unnamed foreign consul. "He (the consul) told me that he can establish contact with Trotsky if I gave him a letter to Trotsky from the Group". This statement was not made till the 20th day after Niclaiev's arrest. Of course, it took the GPU fully 20 days to persuade Niclaiev to remember!

There was NO EVIDENCE, NO PROOF. The foreign consul was not named "for diplomatic reasons"; no letter to or from Trotsky was produced; nothing except a short statement by a man immediately executed. This method of destroying the evidence in the form of the witnesses themselves is very handy indeed! No more GPU "Wrangel officers" to let the cat out of the bag! Kill the stools along with the rest! DEAD MEN TELL NO TALES!

On the basis of Niclaiev's confession, Kamenov and Zinciev were adjudged "morally" guilty and sentenced to ten years in prison. A remote "ideological" connection with Trotsky was charged, although Kamenov and Zinciev had capitulated from Trotsky's position to Stalin's six years before.

What was the motive behind this amalgam frame-up? Kirov was assassinated in December 1934. Soviet industry was advancing. The standard of living of the masses was lagging far behind. Selection of delegates to the Seventh World Congress was scheduled. Unrest centering in the youth which saw no political avenues of expression under the bureaucratic regime gave rise to terrorist moods. The GPU could have prevented the affair but did not. Kirov was assassinated.

The bureaucracy seized on the situation to canalize the unrest. Kamenov and Zinciev were made the scapegoats. Trotsky was implicated.

### WHAT IS BEHIND THE PRESENT FRAME-UP?

We can distinguish three main considerations which made this frame-up necessary for the bureaucracy.

1. Rising dissatisfaction by the Soviet workers with their conditions and the policies of the government;

2. The necessity of insuring the election of delegates to the forthcoming final congress of Soviets who will vote for the new constitution;

3. Canalizing the pressure of the Soviet workers who are aroused by the Spanish workers' heroic struggle.

and are coming into the sharpest conflict with the treacherous policy of the bureaucracy of supporting capitalism in Spain as in France and other countries.

Because we have previously dealt with the first two questions and because the Spanish Civil War is now the most important issue before the world working class, we deal very briefly with the first two and devote the rest of this pamphlet to the third question.

For some time evidence has been accumulating of dissatisfaction on the part of the Soviet workers with their conditions. The progress in industry has not been accompanied by a rise in their standard of living. The necessities of life are hard to get. Strikes are taking place, according to tourists' reports. The censorship suppresses news of them. Stakhanovists — speed-up artists nursed along as pace setters and bribed as an aristocratic stratum of the working class and an additional prop of the bureaucracy — are murdered by the workers.

The workers also see big concessions being made to the peasants in the form of the right to own land through collectives, reduction in taxes, equal basis of representation with the workers in the new government institutions, etc.

The bureaucracy is afraid the Soviet Congress in the fall, might produce delegates opposed to the provisions of the constitution. The present terror and purge have as their aim to cow any expression of opposition and produce only yes-men delegates.

#### PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION THE GREATEST DANGER TO STALINISM.

But the biggest danger to the Stalinist bureaucracy comes from Spain -- not from a victory of the counter-revolution but from a proletarian revolution. The policy of the Stalinists is directed against a proletarian revolution in Spain. In Spain itself they have turned over to Azana, Caballero, Prieto and company, complete control of the struggle against fascism, thereby nullifying in advance the workers' struggle for power. Their spokesmen have repeatedly assured the world they are for the defense of the capitalist republic.

In the Soviet Union, where the hopes of the Russian proletariat are arcused, after years of defeats by the heroic struggle in Spain, of extending the October Revolution to Europe; the bureaucrats have banned all further manifestations of sympathy for the Spanish Revolution "in the interest of world peace", just as in 1933, all demonstrations against the Hitler triumph were curtailed and then forbidden. The Stalinists trust in the League of Nations; they supply Italian fascism with oil and wheat for the bloody subjugation of Ethiopia; but they will not tolerate any mass action in support of the revolutionary workers and peasants in Spain. While the predatory governments of Italy, and Germany openly aid the counter-revolution, Russian Stalinism maintains strict "neutrality" in a struggle involving the future of the world proletariat.

## THE BACKGROUND OF THE PRESENT SITUATION.

The Revolution of 1931 abolished the monarchy and established the republic. But the bourgeois democracy which was set up could not carry out the necessary industrial and agrarian reforms: the eight hour working day; wage increases; land for the peasants; curtailment of the power of the church, etc. Only a workers' state can realize even these democratic reforms promised by the bourgeoisie. It was inevitable that the nation should remain in ferment while it groped for a solution of its problems.

The Spanish capitalist class showed it was unable to solve the most elementary problems of democracy during the two years of the Republican-socialist coalition (1931-1933). It not only refused to nationalize the land and enforce the most pressing agrarian reforms and other radical provisions of the new constitution, but it halted the anti-clerical campaign and reinstated the monarchist clique into government and army offices. It lowered the living standards of the working class, ignored its promises of industrial reform, and the needs of the unemployed. To the extent that reforms were realized, it was only through the direct revolutionary acts of the masses, who seized the land, burned churches, and pressed the class struggle on every front in the face of the opposition of the leaders of the Socialists and Communist Parties. As a natural consequence, the government lost the support of the revolutionary masses and of the left wing parties. Failure of the masses to go forward to the proletarian revolution allowed the reaction to regain the seat of power in 1934,

Against the reactionary forces WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, the organized worker revolted in October, 1934. However, the government crushed the insurrection within fourteen days and reasserted its nominal authority.

Eighteen months later, in February, 1936, the conservative republican government, was defeated in the elections by a landslide for the left groups which comprised the People's Front. The People's Front gained a majority in the Cortes and elected its President, Azana.

Outside of the Cortes, however, outside the People's Front, the anarcho-syndicalists and certain revolutionary Communists and Socialists, many of them in the POUM (Workers' Party of Marxist Unification) responding to the pressure of the masses, impatient with the sabotage and parliamentary red-tape of the People's Front, pushed toward workers control by direct action, towards the completion of the revolution, and began to act independently of the bourgeois government. Farmers organized and seized the rich church lands, sometimes burning the churches themselves, driving out the parasitic priests and nuns who lived on the backs of the masses. Workers, desperate and enraged at the continued exploitation under the republic, struck under the slogan of workers control of production. The People's Front shot down workers and peasants in an effort to suppress these manifestations. While the People's Front government fought the masses, the army officers systematically prepared to overthrow the republic, crush the workers and peasants and reestablish an open ruthless dictatorship.

The uprising of the military clique (McA-Franc), aided and directed by the Catholic-monarchist reaction (Gil Robles-Juan March) and fascist elements (Rivera) against the republic is a direct product

of the determination of Spanish and international capital to crush once and for all the fighting resistance of the working masses and re-establish the unconditional domination of the ruling classes. The ruling classes, having learned from the experiences of Russia, Italy and Germany, understand that the republic is cutlived, and that either the workers will crush them and set up a proletarian dictatorship; or they must crush the workers and peasants by an open ruthless dictatorship.

All the forces of imperialism, be they fascist or democratic, are alarmed at the possibility of the extension to Spain of the revolution begun in Russia in 1917. The counter-revolution receive direct aid from Germany, Italy, Portugal and indirect aid from "democratic" United States, France and England as well as the Stalinist government. The Standard Oil interests maintain their representatives in the rebel camps while Hearst openly advocates the cause of Spanish reaction. Washington harries the People's Front Government to protect American capital. Blum and Stalin task the aid of Germany and Italy with a neutrality policy as ineffective as sanctions against Italy.

#### HOW DO THEY "EXPLAIN" THEIR TREACHERY?

At first the socialists and Stalinists refused to accept office in the People's Front Government, thereby hoping to "absolve themselves of responsibility for the treachery of Azana. Yet there were no more ardent defenders of "democracy" and the People's Front. To-day they have entered the left bourgeois cabinet bag and baggage and between them have actually taken over a MAJORITY of the cabinet posts of the government, which is openly dedicated to the defense of the capitalist state and capitalist property relations.

These two parties, and especially the Communist Party, do declare that the bourgeois democratic revolution MUST BE COMPLETED UNDER CAPITALISM. THEY ARE OPPOSED TO THE ORGANIZATION OF SOVIETS which they consider a threat to "democracy". The Communist Party, repeatedly advocates and guarantees the protection of private ownership of the means of production.

"It is absolutely false," declares Jesus Hernandez, Communist Party Minister of Education, "That the present workers movement has for its objective the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, even AFTER the revolution has terminated. We Communists are motivated exclusively by the desire to defend the democratic republic. It cannot be said we have a social motive for our participation in the war." (MUNDO OBRERO, official Stalinist organ in Madrid, August 9, and NEW YORK TIMES, and DAILY WORKER, August 10. Our emphasis).

At a time when only a proletarian dictatorship can definitely stop fascism by abolishing the capitalist system which breeds it, the Stalinists defend "democratic" capitalism. In this "task" they have won the full confidence of the liberal bourgeoisie. In the name of Lenin, they have, like the Mensheviks of Russia and the Social Democracy of Germany in their time, become the staunchest advocates

and supporters of capitalism. Every worker must realize that BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY, whether in Spain, France or the United States today, as in Germany before 1933, IS INCAPABLE OF DESTROYING FASCISM. Only, the working class, organized in Soviets, independent of the liberal bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, and led by a Marxist Party can do so, by the overthrow, once and for all, of the capitalist system. - Liberal as well as fascist. To understand the Spanish revolution, or for that matter, the world revolution today, the issues must be put squarely and honestly: CAPITALIST DICTATORSHIP OR WORKERS DICTATORSHIP; CAPITALIST DEMOCRACY OR WORKERS DEMOCRACY; CAPITALISM OR COMMUNISM.

#### LENIN'S LINE

Facing a similar situation in Russia in the summer of 1917, Lenin, the great Marxist teacher and leader of the Russian Revolution, declared:

"We wage and shall continue to wage war on Kornilov" (The Russian "fascist") "BUT WE DO NOT SUPPORT KERENSKY" (The Russian socialist-republican); "rather we expose his weakness". (Lenin, August 1917 - our emphasis).

But even within the Central Committee of the Russian Bolshevik Party Lenin had to fight support of the treacherous Kerensky coalition government.

"Yes, the leaders of the Central Executive Committee" (Stalin, Kamnev, Zinoviev) "are pursuing tactics whose sole logic is the defense of the bourgeoisie and the landlords. And there is not the slightest doubt that the Bolsheviks, were they to allow themselves to be caught in the trap of constitutional illusions... that such Bolsheviks would prove MISERABLE TRAITORS to the proletarian cause... would prove traitors to DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM". (Lenin, October 12, 1917, ON THE EVE OF OCTOBER, p. 16. Our emphasis).

Lenin's line was to smash the counter-revolution, overthrow the capitalist coalition government and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. He based his line on the independent organs of the working class (the Soviets) and on the independent revolutionary working class party. That must be our line for Spain to-day.

To put it bluntly: The Communist Party together with the Socialists, "pursues tactics whose sole logic is the defense of the bourgeoisie"... Using Lenin as a fig-leaf, the Stalinists have converted the Communist Party into an agency for enveloping the workers who follow them into the bloody clutches of the counter-revolution. This line of treachery is carried out under the immediate guidance of the Communist International. The Stalinists reject the strategy of developing the world revolution; they reject the extension of the Russian October to other countries; they pit the interests of the anti-working class forces in Russia which they represent against the interests of the proletariat of all countries. The victory of the Spanish proletariat, who are of necessity interested in the spread of the revolution to other countries, would deal a death blow to Russian Stalinism, and therefore to world Stalinism.

### STALINISM SERVES THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

A dictatorship of the proletariat in Spain could survive against inevitable attempts to crush it only by timely assistance from the Soviet Union and revolutionary action by the French workers. The Spanish workers have the duty to summon the French and Russian workers to come to their assistance.

In this struggle, the life of world capitalism and the birth of a new world society would be at stake. The life of all the forces in the Soviet Union opposed to the proletariat would be at stake. The life of the bureaucracy, the vehicle for the expression of these interests, would be at stake. With the fall of the bureaucracy, the Communist Parties all over the world would fall to pieces. Revolutionary parties would arise in their place under the banner of the Communist Fourth International.

The Russian workers would demand policies and action suited to the needs of the occasion. They would create a new leadership. The old spirit of revolution, now slumbering, would reawaken.

Stalinism is afraid that people like Zinoviev and Kamenev, Smirnov, Trotsky, would become leaders of a roused and determined Russian proletariat.

Hence the frame-up to kill off these potential leaders, to discredit them in the eyes of the workers and ~~terrorize~~ others.

The desperate need of the Stalinist bureaucracy is to prevent a proletarian dictatorship in Spain. Wherever it has strength, its policy is to hamstring the struggles of the Spanish workers. In France, under pressure of the workers, the Communist Party demanded "airplanes for Spain". This brought it into conflict with the Blum-Stalin neutrality policy. Forced to choose between the interests of the workers or the interests of the counter-revolution, the French Stalinists chose the latter, and capitulated to Blum.

In the United States, we have a similar story. The Roosevelt government is using continuous pressure against the workers. American imperialism doesn't want a counter-revolutionary Spain under the influence of its powerful rivals. But still less do they want a proletarian Spain. The Stalinists here give Roosevelt left-handed support.

The only answer to the treachery of the Stalinists on a world scale is to make the world revolution. That means start in Spain. Tomorrow it will be France. And the day after tomorrow, it will be our turn.

Against the frame-up policy in Russia, we advance the slogan of the restoration of the proletarian dictatorship to Lenin's line, through the creation of a new Communist Party and the removal of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

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PROGRAM OF VICTORY FOR SPAIN:

NO SUPPORT TO THE AZANA-CABALLERO-HERNANDEZ GOVERNMENT!  
SMASH COUNTER-REVOLUTION AND SEIZE STATE POWER!  
ORGANIZE WORKERS-SOLDIERS-PEASANTS SOVIETS!  
WORKING CLASS CONTROL OF ITS OWN ARMED FORCES!  
NATIONALIZE INDUSTRY AND BANKS!  
WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION!  
LAND TO THE PEASANTS!  
EXPROPRIATE THE CHURCH!  
THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR MOROCCO, CATALONIA  
AND THE BASQUES.  
FOR THE UNION OF IBERIAN SOVIET REPUBLICS!  
ORGANIZE A MARXIST PARTY!  
STALINISTS AND SOCIALISTS BLOCK THE ROAD TO THE PRO-  
LETARIAN REVOLUTION!  
ESTABLISH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!  
EXTEND THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION TO SPAIN!  
FOUND THE COMMUNIST FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!  
SUMMON THE OPPRESSED OF THE EARTH TO WORLD REVOLUTION!

READ

THE FIGHTING WORKER

AND THE

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## 1.

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

1. The overwhelming electoral victory of the People's Front in February 1936, far from being a victory over the reaction, was a victory of the "liberal" bourgeoisie over the proletariat and constituted an intermediate step toward paving the way for the counter-revolution offense.
2. In July, the fascist counter-revolution took the offensive, but the pent-up social forces unleashed the might of the proletariat beyond the expectation of the labor leaders as well as the exploiters and opened up civil war. The civil war carried with it a struggle between the two camps of the bourgeoisie in Spain, each of whom represents not merely a section of Spanish capitalists, but definite world imperialist groupings. The working class of Spain under the hegemony of non-Marxian parties, were corralled into the camp of the "democratic" bourgeoisie, while the landlords recognized their privileged interests lay with the fascists. The class dynamics therefore, in the civil war of classes was step by step being transformed into a battleground of world imperialists, with the working class fighting on the side of one group of imperialists, due to the absence of a revolutionary Marxist party.
3. By October, 1936, all the prerequisites, except the party were ripe for transforming the dual power of the workers, peasants and soldiers soviets into a preparation for the struggle for power. In spite of the betrayal of the Socialist and Stalinist at the top, the soviets were springing up from below all over Spain where counter-revolution had not yet beheaded the proletariat. The highest point in the development of dual power was reached in Catalonia where the necessary objective conditions were ready for the positive intervention of the party to transform the dual power into the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.
4. However, instead of developing dual power, and guarding the independent proletarian action, the POUM, in the name of "Marxism", together with the Syndicalists, entered the Generalidad in November. By their entry and with their active participation the Generalidad carried out the liquidation of these undeveloped organs of dual power, the POUM and the Syndicalists now members of the "Workers Government" saw no further need of these undeveloped organs of dual power which were mere cumbersome duplications". This is the period in which the Anglo-French bloc, recognizing that the danger of a proletarian seizure of power had at this moment passed, changed its tactics ("neutral" encirclement of democratic Spain) and permitted the Soviet Union to collaborate with the People's Front.

The London Bureau and the Trotsky International are both centrist set-ups, although the Trotskyites, moving from the left to the right, are at present to the left of the London Bureau. In this set-up, the POUM, which is a merger of the Maurin group from the London Bureau and the Nin Group from the Trotsky bureau is to the left of both of these international groups, although it is affiliated to the London Bureau. However, like all centrists, their left words are executed with right deeds.

The programmatic position of the French, United States and other sections of the Trotskyites is to the right of the POUM. In action they will commit even greater blunders than the POUM.

First the Trotskyites condemned the POUM and supported the Socialist Party of Spain. Now the Trotskyite international supports the POUM in words and supports the Peoples Front in action. The United States Trotskyites are helping make up the Debs column for the Peoples Front and are sending aid to the Peoples Front.

The liquidation of the Internationalist Communist Leagues into the Second International in Spain and in other countries was the greatest criminal act against the Spanish Revolution. The betrayals of Socialism and Stalinism are to be expected. From now on we can expect nothing else from the Trotskyite centrists.

5. Although the Spanish revolution has entered a period of ebb, the situation is far from hopeless. It is the position of the Revolutionary Workers League of U.S. that a revolutionary resurgence of the proletariat of Spain is not only possible, but most likely if quick action is taken within the present revolutionary situation. A Revolutionary Marxian organization can change the relation of forces in favor of the exploited masses.

## II

### Economic and Historical Significance of Capitalism in Spain.

1. The national bourgeois revolutions which marked the birth and heyday of world capitalism were progressive revolutions, in that they advanced society economically, socially and culturally. Today, however, in the decay stages of capitalist decline, these belated bourgeois revolutions cannot begin to solve the glaring contradictions of present day society; the agrarian and economic reforms demanded by the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie on the one hand, and by proletariat on the other. The big bourgeoisie in the present period, hemmed in and controlled by outside imperialist powers, to which it is bound by iron chains, cannot solve even their own needs in further progressive development.

## III

### The twofold World Antagonism as Expressed in the Spanish Revolution

1. Within Spain today is contending the twofold antagonism to be found in all civil and imperialist wars, i.e., flowing from the economic contradictions of capitalism. First is the struggle of world capitalism as a whole against the extension of the October Revolution. Wherever revolutionary situations mature in the weak links of the capitalist chain the Marxists must direct the revolutionary energies of the masses for the extension of the October Revolution and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This is the decisive struggle, the key conflict of the present historical period - because it is the class struggle, the social revolution, on a world scale. The second aspect of this antagonism, which is subordinate to the first, even though it often becomes the most important surface manifestation, is the struggle between the exploiting imperialist powers themselves.

2. To give the Spanish struggle its proper place against the

background of the struggle of world imperialism, it must here be noted that with the exception of Japan and its aggression in Asia, and the U.S. and its aggression in the Americas, all other imperialist powers are situated in Europe. From a dynamic point of view, therefore, the imperialist struggle in Europe must be considered as a prelude to the struggle for Asiatic markets, primarily by the European imperialists. The Spanish Civil War becomes the force today capable of upsetting the status quo balance and thereby accelerating the war preparations. Therefore all imperialists protect their interest by one or the other forms of intervention.

3. The dynamics of both the imperialist conflicts and of the civil war, in Spain, therefore, offer concrete evidence of the twofold antagonism between world capitalist powers and the spreading proletarian revolution and the conflict among the imperialists themselves.

4. The Anglo-French and the Franco-Soviet blocs have one driving line. The German-Italian bloc has another. All of these blocs and line-ups are impermanent. They fluctuate according to the interests of the member states at the moment. They are blocs of savage rivals, jealous thieves, thrown together for the moment by common objectives against other imperialist combinations. Within the German-Italian bloc, Italy double-crosses and deceives Germany, and vice versa. Great Britain balances Russia against France in the Franco-Soviet bloc, giving concessions to one or both, and using Russia to pull her chestnuts out of the fire. At the present time, for example, England has her finger in all the contending forces in Spain: Franco, in the Peoples Front and in the Catalonian government. The Anglo-French imperialists dominate the Generalidad of Catalonia at present. They let Stalinism do their dirty work. The interests of the United States are twofold:

1. To prevent the Extension of the October Revolution; and
2. To prevent an English bloc in Europe against the United States. On the other hand the Roosevelt War Government is lining up the entire American continent for war on a gigantic scale.

5. In the present stage of capitalism all sections of the capitalists are REACTIONARY. The only progressive class is the Proletariat. This does not mean that the bourgeoisie are one reactionary mass. They have different METHODS OF CONTROLLING THE CLASSES. Those Capitalists (reactionaries) who use the open forceful opposition to the proletariat are the Conservative Capitalists. Those capitalists (reactionaries who use the method of tying the workers to the capitalists through class-collaboration are the

"liberal" capitalists. "Liberal" does not mean historically progressive. There can be no progressive capitalists today.

The conservative and "liberal" method of rule are merely two governmental arms of the same reactionary capitalists.

6. When we speak of the Fascists in Spain we do not mean Fascism such as in Italy and Germany. Spain, as a backward country will not establish a Fascist Dictatorship in this political and economical sense. As a puppet government of a Fascist country or Democratic imperialist country, it may be called Fascist as a

name for the particular form of reactionary dictatorship established there.

7. The contending forces within Spain consist on the one hand of the fascist Franco, representing the conservative bourgeoisie and landowning class, behind whom is lined up certain colonial and German-Italian troops; and on the other, of the "liberal bourgeoisie, who have succeeded in coralling the workers and peasants behind the Peoples Front. Both these forces are agents of outside imperialist groups. Spain is therefore, a battleground for imperialist powers struggling for control over Spain as a strategical advantage in the coming world war. The workers and the oppressed masses' interest is separate and apart from both these groups.

8. How did the Peoples Front group (one imperialist agency) succeed in bringing the workers and peasants to support them? This was accomplished mainly through the instrumentality of "working class" parties representing two main sections of the organized labor movement of Spain. The reformist section, consisting of the Socialist and Stalinist parties; and what might be called the "lefts" the anarcho-syndicalists and the Party of Marxist Unification. In Madrid the workers could be held in check by the right reformists (Stalinist-Socialist), but in Catalonia the revolutionary upsurge demanded calling the lefts in the Generalidad to hold in check the workers (Syndicalists and POUM). In these parties are to be found the principal labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working-class. Tens of thousands of members of these parties have proven in action in civil war that they are ready for anything, for any sacrifice, and for the proletarian seizure of power. What they lack is a leadership, a program and a party.

9. There is an indispensable force missing in Spain. That is the independent party of the proletariat, leading behind it the oppressed masses of the proletariat as well as the petty-bourgeoisie of town and country and colonials as allies. This THIRD force represents the greatest potential force in Spain. The independent power of the working class has not been crystallized because of the absence in Spain of a Revolutionary Marxist Party.

#### IV

#### The Party and the Social Revolution

##### 1. Character of the Social Revolution in Spain.

It must be made clear that the revolution in Spain is a social or proletarian revolution. Within the framework of the capitalist mode of production nothing can be solved. The "Workers government" of the 1931 revolution proved this. For the proletarian revolution in backward economic countries, the first phase will be the agrarian. In no sense does this mean there will be an agrarian revolution separate and apart from the general proletarian revolution. This conception is excluded. The agrarian phase of the proletarian revolution is the first outbreak of the pent forces produced by the extreme contradictions of the countryside. Far from being separate, there can be no solution for the agrarian and economic demands of the peasantry and urban petty-bourgeoisie except through the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The Peoples Front

or any other capitalist form of government cannot grant a ~~s~~ basic reform of capitalist economy. It can only make promises which it cannot fulfill, and which involve it in further contradictions.

If you support the bourgeoisie, you must characterize the Spanish revolution in popular terms as a struggle between Fascism and Democracy. But if you support the proletariat, in other words, if you stand for the overthrow of capitalism and for the social revolution you are compelled to view the Spanish revolution as a struggle of Fascism and Communism.

In the decay stage of capitalism when the exploiters can no longer hold in check the proletariat and the oppressed masses, they are compelled to resort to Fascism as a last means to retain state power. In this struggle the support of bourgeois democracy versus communism is an attempt to turn the wheels of history backward. At this critical stage in the struggle against Fascism the support of bourgeois democracy is to pave the way for Fascism.

Although it is true that the Spanish revolution has brought forth new forms the fact remains that the fundamental line of the workers in the struggle for power in Russia must be the same to be carried out in Spain. The lessons of the October Revolution in content is the road to power in Spain.

## 2. The Party.

Revolutionary situations are created by the objective conditions of capitalism. The tempo of the maturing revolutionary situation may be speeded up or retarded, but the revolutionary situation itself cannot be created artificially. The revolutionary situation throws the masses in action for a solution of its overwhelming difficulties.

How is the revolutionary situation transformed into a successful revolution? The key to this question is the PARTY. The revolutionary Marxist organization organizes, leads and directs the masses to overthrow capitalism and to establish its own state power. The party is the class instrument necessary and capable of transforming the revolutionary situation into a successful revolution.

The independent action of the proletariat as a class is possible only through the political and organizational independence of the Revolutionary Marxist Party. This is a basic Marxian principle. It must be remembered that Marxism does not merely explain history It makes it.

No such party exists today in Spain. It must be built. It can be built. It will be built. There are many working class parties to be found that are working class in form, but not in content. Only a Marxian Party can be a genuine working class party in content.

Consider for a moment the late slogan of the Party of Marxist Unification; "You cannot rule without the POUM, much less against it". This is complete inversion of the Marxist idea, and excludes and makes impossible the independent action of this party, as well as that of the class it pretends to represent. Any party whose

## 6.

policy subordinates the proletariat to one group of the exp. class in its struggle against another, cannot be considered. Examples of such treachery are many within the Spanish revolution. The Peoples' Front support of the bourgeois government, social patriotism, support of imperialist alliances, etc.

V  
Strategic Problems of the Revolution

The Peoples Front

1. The Peoples Front is an instrument for subordinating the working class to the "liberal" bourgeoisie in their struggle against the reactionary bourgeoisie. The Peoples Front in content is the same as the Provisional Government in Russia in 1918, the Social Democratic government in Germany after 1918, etc. The Stalinists and Socialists not only came out openly for it, but are the indispensable basis for its existence. The POUM and the Syndicalists, on the other hand, whom we designate as left, deny, in words, any support of the Peoples Front, but carry out a "Peoples Front" policy in action. It is impossible to struggle effectively against the counter-revolution unless the class, at the same time, struggles against the Peoples Front. Just as the bourgeoisie uses both its liberal and conservative sections against the proletariat, so the latter, if it is to be victorious, must learn to use different tactics against the two arms of its class enemy. This was the problem facing Lenin in his struggle against both Kerensky and Kornilov. To keep an independent class line against both at the same time, using different tactics within the same fundamental line.
2. An independent strategy in the revolution is the independent control of the armed forces of the working class. In order to fight against all groups of exploiters and move towards state power, the working class must, against all odds, maintain their independent control of the armed forces. This is done through the establishment of soldiers' soviets coordinated with the armed workers and peasants' soviets, under the leadership of the revolutionary proletarian party.
3. Nationalization of Industry and Workers Control of Production. These slogans were used in the first stages of the revolution for the purpose of mobilizing the masses against reaction. But the workers control of production is not possible under the rule of the exploiters state, except where soviets and dual power takes this control out of the capitalist state hands. Workers Control of Production and Nationalization of Industry are realizable and possible only under the control of the workers' soviets. If, as in Spain today, the bourgeoisie control the "workers control of production", it is a sham and a deception, a fig leaf behind which hides the exploiting capitalist class.
4. Struggle for Democratic Demands Against Bourgeois Democracy. In the decay stage of capitalism, the bourgeoisie are unable to grant the democratic demands of the oppressed classes - even if they should want to do so. The struggle for democratic demands becomes therefore part of the revolutionary struggle against bourgeois democracy.

But the Stalinists argue that bourgeois democracy is to fascism, and therefore must be supported by the working class. Enough of this treacherous formula for the support of our class enemies! The working class must fight against BOTH forms of bourgeois rule for defense of its democratic demands. To defend the democratic demands of the workers a struggle against the capitalists (bourgeois democrats) must be carried on at the same time as the offensive against the fascists through different tactics. One of the capitalist formula for the subordination of the workers in a revolutionary struggle is; "Defeat Fascism FIRST"; the reformers add "Then we can clean our own house". Fascism, one arm of capitalism, cannot be defeated by the Peoples Front (the "liberal" arm) in the present decay stage. The economic contradictions and class antagonisms can be held in check by Fascism or solved by communism. The working class cannot struggle against Fascism (capitalism) unless it frees itself from subordination to the Peoples Front (capitalism). Therefore, it must fight on two fronts.

The exploiters use a formula to transform a war of classes into a war against the proletarian demanding the subordination of all to the fight at the front. "A geographic struggle". By clever selection and discrimination the most radical and best proletarian troops are shipped to the front away from the centers of proletarian strength. The Russian Provisional Government of 1917 tried to do this in Petrograd, but the Bolsheviks and the Soviets prevented them from doing so.

##### 5. Land to the Peasants.

The revolutionary Marxist Party says to the peasants, "Take the Land" - "Do not wait for the formal passage of laws sanctioning their seizure".

5A. To the petty-bourgeoisie we say "The workers government will break the back of the financial power of the banking octopus". That is the spirit of the strategy of the revolutionary proletariat.

##### 6. The Right of Self-Determination for the Oppressed Masses.

Morocco is the living proof that oppressed minorities were treated the same under the Peoples Front Government as under Alfonso. If the Peoples Front were a workers government, it would have granted liberation to the colonial masses and removed Franco's base in Morocco. The French colonies under Blum and the French Peoples Front government, similarly, far from emancipating their colonials, are today goading them into resentment, causing them to become ripe material for recruitment into French fascist battalions, to be used by de la Rocque against the revolutionary French proletariat.

It remains for Franco, by a curious irony of history, to raise demagogically, the slogan of "self-determination" for the Moroccans, in order, at one blow, to raise an army and drive a wedge into the camp of the enemy imperialists (France). To Franco, self-determination means "independence" under imperialist domination. In the sense that Egypt, Cuba or the Phillipines are independent.

The Catalonian bourgeoisie uses the slogan of "self-determination" to tie the workers to the tail of capitalism. They have turned upside down the Lenin formula of the right of self-determination and the workers party not knowing the different content fall into the Catalonian bourgeois trap. The inability to utilize properly the slogan of the right of self-determination for the Basques enables reaction to utilize this against the workers.

### 7. The Creation of Soviets.

In a revolutionary situation, soviets spring from below through the release of the revolutionary energies of the proletariat. The shrewd bourgeoisie called into their government the workers parties for the purpose of using them to nip the embryonic soviets in the bud, cut them off entirely, or better yet, subordinate them to the bourgeois power. A striking historical parallel in the Russian soviets, in their attempt to subordinate the young soviets to the Constituent Assembly. The Bolshevik party, however, based on the Marxist conception of the independent role of the proletariat, which became the organs of state power and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Only a Marxist Party can coordinate, develop and extend the soviets.

The POUM and the Syndicalists conceived the soviets as a bloc of parties, the membership of these parties make up the total members of the soviets. This is a fatal caricature of the soviets. Because soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers take in all workers in a given industry or area. It is true that an ideological and political struggle on a democratic basis develops between the workers' party for hegemony within the soviets. But the basic principle in the building of soviets is the structure: from the bottom up, not from the top down.

## VI Toward Power

1. The Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie takes on various forms. In Spain, it takes on three main forms; the Franco government, a reactionary dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; the Madrid-Valencia government of Azana-Camilleri, which can be characterized as a "liberal" dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; and the Catalonian Generalidad, which is labelled a "workers government", but which is in reality a left "liberal" dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

2. Between the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, there can be no other kind of government. There can arise many forms of capitalist dictatorships, but between the two dictatorships of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat there is no class basis for any other.

3. The POUM aided by the SAP of Germany has brought forward a "theory" of "the disappearance of the bourgeois state". This theory developed in the midst of liquidating the early forms of the dual power as a theoretical instrument for justifying it, declares that the bourgeois state need not be shattered, but that in its struggle against the advancing counter-revolution, it "collapses" - it loses power. The various labor parties then step in and "take over"

power. The bourgeois state thus becomes a "Workers government". According to this theory the POUM has succeeded in eliminating the Marxist conception that the bourgeois state cannot be taken over by the proletariat, but must be shattered. The bourgeois state can only be eliminated through the smashing of the state by the Proletariat and in its place establishing the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

4. On the basis of the above betrayal, the "workers" government proceeded to liquidate the undeveloped dual power of the working class, the Anti-Fascist Committee of 13, the Military Committee.

5. Furthermore, the POUM even when it participated in the dual power organs, had a fatally false structure for coordinating the soviets. Their conception, bureaucratically conceived and mechanically executed, was that of a committee superimposed on the class, not elected, by an agreement of the parties. The soviets must be coordinated through its elected committees and its economic body as a whole camp or through its departments the militia, economic and political struggles of the class.

6. Once inside the Generalidad, the POUM and the Syndicalists, together with the bourgeoisie went down to local soviets, dissolved them completely, or "coordinated" them into organs of the Generalidad, stating that in this way, red-tape and duplication would be eliminated.

## VII

### How to Establish and Extend the Spanish Revolution.

1. The situation in Spain is far from hopeless. The impasse in Spain reflects the stalemate existing between rival imperialist powers. The friction between the exploiters can be utilized by the workers provided they carry out independent class action.

2. The stalemate between the imperialists' forces is reflected in the stalemate between the fascists and the Peoples Front. This is only a momentary juncture that we must take advantage of.

3. Nothing has been solved, however. The economy of Spanish capitalism is further breaking down at a rapid pace. The forces of revolution are not spent. The working class still has its militancy and its revolutionary ardor. The working class of Spain has put up the most heroic struggle since the Russian Revolution. The objective conditions are ripe for the active intervention of a revolutionary Marxist Party to transform the revolutionary situation into a successful revolution.

4. Given a revolutionary Marxian Party, independent class action of the Spanish Proletariat, through the development of Soviets the Dictatorship of the Proletariat can be established. To take the first steps in this direction the Marxian forces in Spain must go directly to the masses as a political and organizational independent force. This must be done now, today.

5. The establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Spain will favor the revolutionists in France. A Proletarian victory in France will be the beginning of the end of capitalism in Europe!